THE

WEEKLY INSPECTOR.

" Of those men who have overturned the Liberties of Republics, the greatest number
" have begun their career by paying an obsequious court to the People—commencing
" DEMAGOGUES, and ending TYRANTS." HAMILTON.

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THE MIRANDA TRIAL.

The following is a reply to an elaborate defence of the conduct of Administration in the case of Miranda, which appeared in a late number of the National Intelligencer. It completely hews to pieces the shield of sophistry which Mr. Jefferson's advocates have fabricated with much labour and some ingenuity.

FOR THE WEEKLY INSPECTOR.

INSTEAD of publishing insolent paragraphs against the Federalists, for which no other apology can be assigned, than the *indiscreet zeal* of Judge Talmadge, in causing a *state secret to be divulged*, it would be well for the partizans of the administration to come forward, and fairly meet the questions before the public.

We inquire, whether Miranda *did not explicitly inform Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison of the nature of his intended enterprise? Whether, having the power to restrain the enterprise, they did not allow it to proceed, under engagements on the part of Miranda, that it should be conducted with discretion? And whether Smith and Ogden were not known as Miranda's agents several weeks before the sailing of the Leander?*

The public expect answers to these questions :—sophistical suppositions and cunning evasions will not be accepted, except by the base gudgeons of party.

If, as is most sincerely believed, Mr. Jefferson dare not give negative answers to these questions, then other questions arise of more serious import.

Ought Mr. Jefferson, after having *connived at and abetted* Miranda's expedition, to have directed Smith and Ogden to be *criminally prosecuted?* If a prosecution had been inadvertently commenced, ought he not to have directed *a nolle prosequi* to be entered, *as was done in the case of Duane, who was a libeller by his countenance and advice?* If the agents had been *convicted*, was not Mr. Jefferson bound by the *same considerations which governed his conduct in the case of Callender, to pardon his accomplices*, and assume the consequences of their *violation of law upon himself?*

These questions are asked by considerate men of all parties ; they naturally arise out of the circumstances before us :—the public will form opinions :—they will be unfavourable to the administration, unless present impressions can be removed :—quibbling paragraphs will not remove them.

To prate about the *innocence or guilt* of Smith and Ogden, or to reason from immaterial facts, which are neither doubtful, nor in any manner disputed, is ridiculous :—We all know that Miranda has sailed on an expedition against Caraccas—We know that Smith and Ogden were his agents :—These facts are not denied : the question is simply respecting the *participation of Government.*

A cunning solicitude is expressed respecting the publication of the trial. —It is certain, however, that this publication can only circumstantially illustrate facts of which the public are already informed :—A ship was loaded with cannons, pikes, muskets, and ammunition, in the midst of this populous city, and under the eyes of Government. One of these officers is prosecuted for a violation of law :—he

affirms that his office is merely ministerial;—that it is no part of his duty to interpret the law, and that in what he did, he was countenanced by his superiors:—the heads of departments are requested to come forward and testify; but instead of presenting themselves, they write a letter, stating *that the public business will not permit their absence.* We can only regret that Judge Talmadge *did not happen to hold his court a week later, when this objection would not have existed.*

The ostrich is said to imagine that its body may be concealed merely by running its head into a brake; and it would seem that the administration have as wisely concluded, that by shutting their own eyes, all the world may be involved in darkness. The people, however, are too intelligent to be amused by inquiries, whether Smith and Ogden were or were not the agents of Miranda, or whether the decisions of the juries were governed merely by their belief or dibelief of this fact. No:—the jurors judged, (and they judged correctly) that in deciding the question, whether the accused were GUILTY OR NOT GUILTY, *in the manner and form in which they stood indicted*, it became their duty to inquire, not only *whether the facts charged in the indictments* were proved, but also, whether these facts, *if proved*, were or were not *susceptible of a defence.*

It is a fact, which may be proved by thousands, that, within a few weeks, a man was made to suffer, in this city, an ignominious and violent death under a gallows:—Let us suppose the sheriff arraigned for *murder*, in consequence of this transaction, and a crowd of witnesses called to prove a fact notorious and not disputed:—Let us suppose the sheriff's commission, and the warrant directing the execution, to have been lost; *and the clerk too much engaged in other business*, to be able to attend with his records. Let us then imagine the counsel for the sheriff suggesting, as their sole ground of defence, and the sheriff declaring on oath, that the act charged *as murder*, was the *execution of the sentence of a competent court.* It requires no conjurer to predict what would be the verdict of the jury, if the trial was ordered to proceed, and this defence declared to be irrelevant.

It may be said, however, by the casuists who write in the National Intelligencer, *that the supposed case of the sheriff is not analogous to that of Smith.* This is admitted; protesting that we mean no disrespect to any court of justice; and let us vary the case, so as to render the parallel more striking, and then infer not only the *probable verdict*, but the *feelings* of the jurors.

We will imagine that, *subsequent to the execution*, it was clearly discovered that the supposed malefactor, who had been condemned and suffered death, was wholly innocent, or had merely committed some petty misdemeanour, and that his conviction and punishment *were owing to a wicked combination of the judges and counsellors, for sinister purposes*—that the community being satisfied that a heinous crime had been committed, *demanded the punishment of the offenders;* and that the judge and counsellors, to screen themselves, had caused the sheriff to be arraigned, although his fault consisted in being the *unresisting dupe of men, whose directions he had been accustomed to obey with implicit confidence.*—If the sheriff was deprived of this defence, would not the jurors say, that *material circumstances were suppressed by the authority of the accusers? would they not refuse to pronounce the sheriff guilty?*

Still, however, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison will assert that the cases are not parallel: and that in respect to the sheriff, a *legal defence* is supposed; whereas, in the case of Smith, no such supposition can be admitted:—with affected and demure humility, they will say, *that they are themselves the servants of the law, and have no power to dispense with its provisions: that Smith being a public officer, knew the law, or, at any rate, ignorance of the law is no excuse;*—they may perhaps say that they merely "*avowed their speculative opinions in favour of the emancipation of the provinces of Spain,*"

and that they countenanced the adherents of Miranda, with an express proviso, " *that they were not to infringe the laws of the United States.*"

It is easy to see that this excuse is founded on a miserable sophism. No person has pretended that Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison can dispense with the laws; their example, precept, or authority, has never, and will never be pleaded to justify the commission of *any crime*.—No: the legality or illegality of Smith's conduct depended solely on *political circumstances*, of which, according to the *law of nations, the Constitution of the United States, and the express provisions of a statute of Congress, the President was the sole and exclusive Judge.*

The National Intelligencer of August 6th, has, however, assumed a ground of defence so contemptibly weak and fallacious, that, lest it should be supposed to be misrepresented, it shall be recited at large.

" Some blame has been attached to " the administration, *for not proceed-* " *ing against Miranda, immediately on* " *the alleged developement of his views.* " But this, so far as it is entertained " by *honest minds*," (yes, HONEST MINDS,) " has arisen from an *omission* " *to distinguish* between the *duties* of a " *Government* and an *individual*. An " individual, in the transactions of *pri* " *vate life*, occupies a *wide field of ac-* " *tion. It is his duty to do all the good,* " *and avoid all the evil he can.* His " means for attaining these ends are " only limited by *moral principles*, or " *positive laws.* He is consequently, " as a *moral agent*, responsible for the " *full employment of all such means in* " *his power. The case, however, is di-* " *rectly inverted, in respect to Govern-* " *ments.* Their power is altogether " *derivative.* The objects on which it " is to be exercised, and the means of " enforcing it, are *expressly delegated.* " Beyond these they *cannot take a sin-* " *gle step.* This is the *distinctive fea-* " *ture*, the peculiar boast of a *free Go-* " *vernment; the law is their rule, as* " *well as that of the humblest citizen.* " In the instance then under consider- " ation, *the Government* was bound to " go *as far as the law directed;* they " were *prohibited from going farther.* " What is the law?

" If any person shall, within the ju- " risdiction or territory of the United " States, begin, or set on foot, or pro- " vide or propose, the means for any " military expedition or enterprise, to " be carried on from thence, against " the territory or dominion of any fo- " reign prince or state, *with whom the* " *United States are at peace*, every " such person so offending, shall, on " conviction, be adjudged guilty of a " high misdemeanour, and shall suffer " fine and imprisonment, at the discre- " tion of the court in which the con- " viction shall be had, so as that such " fine shall not exceed 3000 dollars, " nor the term of imprisonment be " more than three years."

" The infraction of this statute then " consists, not in *entertaining particu-* " *lar motives*, or *forming particular* " *plans*, but in *committing certain acts.* " Whatever *knowledge* the executive " might have had *of the motives of Mi-* " *randa, it was not their duty to take* " *any legal steps against him; they* " *could not legally take them, until these* " *motives were displayed in his actions.* " As soon as they were apprised of the " course *he had taken*, the most *effi-* " *cient* measures were taken, the only " *legal measures* in their power to take; " thus discharging every duty *requir-* " *ed by law*, and avoiding the commis- " sion of every act *not legally autho-* " *rized.*"

How profound is Jeffersonian philosophy! How happy this Madisonian delineation of the distinctive features of a free government, exercising only *delegated powers*, and " avoiding every act not legally authorized!"

Surely the present is an age of superior refinement:—The casuist Crambe was merely able to conceive the idea of an *abstract Lord Mayor of London*, divested not only of chair, wig, and robes, but also of head, limbs, stomach, and body. To refine a Lord Mayor, according to Crambe's system, nothing more was necessary than to

deterge from the *visible figure* every *sensible property*; whereas, according to Mr. Madison's new chemistry, the *translation* of a *natural man* into a member of the *executive government*, necessarily produces a *transmutation* of every *moral quality* of human nature into its "confounding contrary." For instance, Thomas Jefferson, "in private life, occupies a wide field of action." "It is his duty to do all the good and avoid all the evil he can," restrained only as "a moral agent," by the not inconvenient limitations prescribed by "moral principles and positive laws." It is, however, asserted, that when this same Thomas Jefferson is contemplated in the artificial and sublimated character of *President of the United States*, divested of his red breeches, pocket pistol, and pedometer, that *all his moral duties and obligations are "directly inverted."* It seems to be admitted, that, as a *man*, Mr. Jefferson was bound to *support or to restrain* Miranda's expedition, and to *execute whatever he promised in good faith*:—as *President*, however, his duties were "*directly inverted.*" "It would have been censurable," not to have given Miranda "*a hospitable reception*;" it was proper to allow him to "open himself on his plan of revolutionizing the Spanish possessions of South America:"—it was correct to *permit an expedition to be formed in the United States, against Caraccas*, "PROVIDED THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES WERE NOT INFRINGED;" at the same time *concealing his opinion, whether any such expedition could be formed, without infringing those laws*:—Mr. Jefferson, *as President*, was bound to recollect, that no law forbade Miranda to "*entertain particular motives*," or "*form particular plans;*" and, as a *genuine republican*, it was his indispensable duty to consider Miranda's *avowal of his design of revolutionizing South America, as a confidential communication.* Knowing his power to be "altogether derivative," he must have believed that it would have been an *unconstitutional and federal assumption of power*, not "expressly delegated," to take even the "single step" of apprising his subordinate officers, and the other individuals connected with Miranda, of the dangers *to which he knew they were exposed* of being decoyed into schemes which he had *determined to counteract and defeat*, as soon as Miranda's plans "*were displayed in his actions*," and he had "*taken his course*" thereby, from a *pure regard to the constitution*, involving them, their families, and connexions, in incalculable ruin and distress!!!

As Smith has not been allowed to excuse his conduct, on the ground of *ignorance of the laws, or the connivance of his superiors in office*, it is to be hoped that the public will not permit Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison to *stultify themselves*, and then plead their folly as a defence. One section of the act of Congress, of June 5, 1794, has been cited in vindication of the absurd principle, that their duties, as *officers of government*, were different from their obligations to their country, as *private citizens*. It must not, however, be forgotten, that another section of the *same act* makes it the special duty of the *President* to employ the land and naval forces of the United States, in restraining not only expeditions *actually fitted out and armed*, but also expeditions "*attempted to be fitted out and armed.*" The *avowal* of Miranda, that he came here to *fit out an expedition against Caraccas*, was surely "AN ATTEMPT" upon the legality and policy of which it was *peculiarly* and *exclusively* the duty of the *President to decide*. Mr. Jefferson well knows, that the act of Congress which has been quoted in *his defence*, was passed in consequence of the enterprises of M. Genet in the year 1793: He knows that the *Judiciary department* has never been expected to take the lead in measures which *directly affected the intercourse of the United States with foreign nations*.—He knows that the act of June, 1794, placed the responsibility for all restraining measures on the *Executive department*, in consequence of *suggestions from the Judges*, of their incompetency to notice and duly esti-

mate these *political considerations*, by which the execution of a statute of that nature *must of necessity be modified:* The paltry ground of defence which has been taken, is therefore wholly overthrown; and the attempt to deceive the people by directing their attention from the *real object of responsibility*, is an aggravation of that *insincerity* which is the essence of the offence now denounced to the public.

All mankind will finally agree in opinion, with respect to the "*distinctive feature*" of Mr. Jefferson's character.—The man who is solely responsible for the misfortunes of our countrymen who have gone to Caraccas, is the same individual who professed to support the administration of Washington, and employed the National Gazette to asperse its measures; who publicly extolled the same Washington, in a speech to the Senate, and stigmatized his character in a letter to Mazzei; who employed a "*language official*," and a "*language confidential*," in his intercourse with M. Genet; who rejoiced that Mr. Adams was made President, and employed Callender to vilify his person, and misrepresent his opinions and conduct; who, with apparent devotion, has acknowledged the Providence of God, and invited Paine to recommence his "*useful labours*" in the United States; who, by means of one agent, allured an army of Arabs to march across the deserts of Lybia, and by another surrendered their interests and lives to an implacable enemy at Derne; finally, who publicly encouraged the employment of force in defence of our national rights, while he privately suggested the expediency of submitting to Tribute.

There is but one step further to be taken:—*Let Mr. Jefferson rise in the presence of his countrymen, and, inclining forward, with his hand on his heart, let him declare upon his honour, that he knew nothing of Miranda's expedition, until it was too late to prevent its departure.* The declaration will not injure his *private character*, and will be merely considered as an *official act*, for the benefit of his party, done in the character of a Magistrate, whose *moral duties* are "DIRECTLY INVERTED."

FOR THE WEEKLY INSPECTOR.

THE prosperous state of our domestic affairs, and the tranquillity of our foreign relations, have been frequently enlarged upon by the partizans of the present administration of our general government, and urged with some plausibility, against their political opponents, in proof of the wisdom of its measures. What, say they, but self-interested motives can prompt this seditious outcry against the constituted authorities; of what have you just reason to complain? Is not the prosperity of a state the truest test of the excellence of its government? Consider the rapid increase of our population and riches, the progress made in the settlement and cultivation of our wild and uninhabited regions, and the flourishing condition of our agriculture and commerce—Behold our fields waving with rich harvests, our rivers and harbours white with unnumbered sails, and our sea-ports crowned with stately cities; and say, if these be symptoms of weakness and disorder in our political state; if these happy effects can result from a mismanagement of our public affairs; or if they do not rather supply the most convincing proofs of the wisdom and patriotism of our rulers? This glowing, and, in some measure, faithful picture, might well dazzle the view of a superficial observer; but a slight examination will discover that the merit of its execution is due to another hand than Mr. Jefferson; that the pencil of the latter has neither assisted to finish the outline, nor brighten the tints; in fact, that nothing more can be said for its present possessors, than that they have not quite obliterated and defaced it. But I am so anxious that the praise should be bestowed where it is justly due, that I will endeavour to explain myself more clearly; and this cannot be better done than in the words of

chancellor Bacon, who, with his usual sagacity, observes, that "states, as great engines, move slowly, and are not so soon put out of frame; for as in Egypt the seven good years sustained the *seven bad*, so governments, for a time well grounded, do bear out errors following." Now because the present administration have not been able, during our *seven bad years*, to do away all the good effected by their predecessors, surely no credit is therefore due to them for what remains. But, though the wise and well grounded measures of the Federal Administration have hitherto sustained and borne out the subsequent blunders, yet we now begin to totter under their weight; and every day affords fresh cause to fear that we must, ere long, sink overwhelmed beneath them. To convince ourselves that these fears are not vain and imaginary, let us for a moment look around, and consider the relation in which we stand to the three European powers with whom we have most connexion, Great-Britain, France, and Spain; with each of whom, but with the former especially, we are so embroiled, as to have little hope of an amicable, and, at the same time, an honourable adjustment of our differences. To go into a long examination of the various and perplexing grounds of controversy between these governments and our own, would be equally tedious and unprofitable; for the greater number of them have forced themselves within the notice of the most unobservant, and such as are still latent, only wait an opportunity to become sensible in their consequences. From contrasting, therefore, this view of our present, with our former condition, we shall be easily led to conclude, that the ship of state, which, impelled by the prosperous gales of the federal administration, moved so majestically on, has, since the helm was committed to unskilful hands, been coming gradually to rest; let us, however, strain every nerve to prevent its driving down the stream—to save it from wreck, midst the rocks and shoals by which it is surrounded.

But as it may be thought unreasonable to suppose that the measures of the former administration can have any influence on the present times, and that, consequently, our hypothesis does not sufficiently account for the degree of national prosperity, whatever it may have been, which has been enjoyed under our present government, it will be worth our while to consider, whether the fact for which we are endeavouring to account, has any existence; or, in other words, if the state of the country can in truth be called flourishing. The degree in which a quality exists in any subject, is called great or small, by comparison with the degree of which the subject is capable. Thus, for example, if a cannon ball were to move with but the velocity of a greyhound, it would be said to move slowly, though the swiftness of the latter is proverbial. And a neglected field, which, from the natural fertility of its soil alone, should produce abundantly, might, nevertheless, be said to be badly managed. Now to make the application to our own country; let us ask, if it be as happy, as powerful, as important, and respected among nations, as its internal advantages and local position ought undoubtedly to have rendered it? All will answer no, who reflect, that our government at home is bullied and insulted by the minister of a spiritless nation; itself so fallen from its former dignity, as to have become, without a struggle, the slave and tributary of its once equal or inferior; that, to purchase the liberty of treating with this degraded people, we have descended to pay tribute of millions, and to a stranger; that, upon the seas, we are stripped or pillaged, justly and unjustly, by the ships of all powers; and that our consequent threats and impotent blustering are the scorn and derision of the world. And, as those who console themselves for this accumulated disgrace, by a view of our domestic prosperity and success, consider that these, such as they are, cannot long consist with the state of things just described; and further, that they

bear no proportion to what, in reason, they ought to have been; seeing that this our country is, by nature, so richly endowed, that nothing but a series of the most dreadful misfortunes can prevent its ascent, under Providence, to the summit of wealth, happiness, and glory.

DRUSUS.

FOREIGN.

By an arrival at Boston, of September 5th, London papers have been received of as late a date as the 26th of July. The King's speech, at the prorogation of Parliament, is contained in one of those papers. In this his Majesty expresses a wish "for the restoration of peace on hononrable terms," and observes, that he is "engaged in discussions, with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end," but "their success must depend on a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy."

We, however, still continue to think that Great-Britain cannot be so infatuated, as to submit, like Samson, to be shorn, lulled in the lap of the French Dalilah. A peace would disarm Great-Britain, while the Corsican, *whom no treaties can bind*, and to whom the *laws of nations* are "*worm-eaten codes*," would still direct the dagger, and point the poignard to her heart. In this our opinion is concurrent with that of some who have a more elevated site, and, of consequence, a wider view on the other side of the Atlantic. A late London paper puts, in substance, queries as follows:

Has the object of the war been obtained?

If not, have we obtained any equivalent?

Are we not obliged to be in camp, and ready to march at a day's warning?

It then states, that "a jealous precautionary peace is but an inactive war—war, with all its cost, without its spoil—a war that would exhaust the nation, whilst, by setting free the commerce of the enemy, it would render her power progressive.

From Hamburgh we learn, that Bonaparte is pouring troops into the Neapolitan territory, and menacing Sicily, Etruria, and the dominions of the Pope. He creates Electors in Germany (as a yankee would say) *as thick as hops*—thus providing for his tools and favourites.—French troops swarm like locusts in Suabia and Bavaria, and like locusts carry with them famine and devastation.—It is said, that an army of sixty thousand Frenchmen is preparing, in two divisions, to invade *by land* the English East-India possessions. Though Alexander forced his way across the deserts which divide Macedonia from the ancient India, we fancy armies of thirty thousand men would at this period find but scurvy accommodations on the same route. The poor Sans Culottes could not always procure frogs in the deserts of Asiatic Turkey; and such a caravan as would be requisite for such an enterprise, would require more camels than even Bonaparte could put in requisition.—Calais has been bombarded, and a part of it reduced to ashes, by the British Commodore Owen.—Report speaks of a treaty between Bonaparte and the Porte, by which the former is to march troops through the Turkish dominions, into Egypt.—Bonaparte has forwarded an army into Hesse Cassel, in order to force at the point of the bayonet a loan of 5 millions of rix dollars. This same COMMON PLUNDERER OF NATIONS, has likewise demanded money of the Elector of Saxony.

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Our differences with Great-Britain are said to be in a train which promises a speedy settlement. But Spain appears to entertain no particular partiality for the United States; nor, (what is wonderful) to its *just, generous, upright, and plain dealing administration*. She does not appear to appreciate properly the risk we have run in the Miranda expedition, intended *solely for the benefit of her subjects*; but she says, unless we pay to her for the use of Bonaparte, *more money*, our SEVENTEEN MILLIONS are thrown into the sea!! Thus, by our *seventeen millions*, we have purchased *a title*—to A QUARREL, and the loss of it has *tied our hands* in

such a manner that we may be *knocked down* with impunity. Even the Richmond Enquirer, a democratic-administration-paper, forgetting for a moment its *official* character, has something to say about "the hatred which Bonaparte bears to Republics," and thanks Mons. Talleyrand for his "particular zeal in inflaming his master's mind against us;"—but *remembers* to *forget*, that Master Jefferson and Master Madison have bound us hand and foot, and placed us at the foot of the throne of Bonaparte.

A Spanish frigate, reinforced by *ten gun-boats*, and covered by a battery, in the Havanna, near the Moro Castle, was taken, and *the battery silenced*, by two English frigates, in *fifteen minutes*, after the latter commenced her cannonade.—A fig for gun-boats!

General Miranda, aided by *British force*, is said to have been successful in several skirmishes with the Spaniards, and has taken Coro.—Inquiries relative to certain accusations against the Princess of Wales, have been instituted, and her royal highness has passed the ordeal with a spotless reputation.

DOMESTIC.

Eight gun-boats are ordered to be built, and intended to be launched by the last of November next: Five of these at Portland and five at Brunswick, Maine.—A violent hurricane has swept the coast of Georgia, and destroyed much property.

One Duncan, a good democrat, no doubt, and a custom-house officer at Detroit, has lately decamped with the paltry sum of SEVENTY-FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS, public money.

Good Democrats can't live on browse, and
Take therefore, now and then, a thousand
Of public cash; and make amends
By being "WE, THE PEOPLE'S" friends.

Cheetham and Duane are getting together by the ears: so much the better for *honest men*.—Our government is said to be held in utter contempt at New-Orleans; and conspiracies are talked of, which have for their object the erection of an empire west of the Alleghany, *independent of the U. States*.

Poor Connecticut!—"If Connecticut, (says *Col.* RENEGADE, of *wooden-horsical* memory,) had not produced such men as Sellick Osborn, and Joel Barlow, and Abraham Baldwin, we should almost doubt the possibility of any thing virtuous, ingenuous, and good, being produced there." But you forget, Pat, your friend A. Bishop: besides, in Simsbury mines you would probably find more of your kind of "virtuous, ingenuous, and good," some of whom are perhaps natives of the state, though probably the greater part are, like yourself, the sweepings of Europe.

—

IMPROMPTU,

On seeing in the Aurora what the astute *Editor calls a* "paradox on a poem."

You're stupider, Pat, than a "Clodhopper's" ox,
For *parody*, ha, you must say *paradox*!
Now, though you're a very "dull fool" and a quiz,
To teach you, I'll try, what a *paradox* is;
That you are *not starv'd*, is a paradox, when,
Though a blockhead, quite brainless, you *live by your pen*.

—

FOR THE WEEKLY INSPECTOR.

Lines supposed to have been written by a young man, on his passage down the North River to the State Prison, where he was condemned to be immured for life.

Adieu, ye green trees, ye soft meadows, adieu;
Ye rocks, and ye mountains, I hasten from you;
No more shall my eyes with your beauties be blest;
No more shall ye soothe my sad bosom to rest.
Ye birds, who so sweetly on each verdant spray,
Now twitter your loves, and your troubles away;
Ah! what would I give in your pleasures to share!
To stray where I please, and to breathe the fresh air.
Ye fishes so nimbly that sport in the stream,
Reviv'd by the warmth of the Sun's cheering beam;
No more shall I witness your skill in the wave,
Debarr'd from all freedom on this side the grave.
No more shall I taste the pure breezes of morn,
Nor view the soft shadows steal over the lawn,
Nor Sun, Moon, nor Stars, shall again bless my sight;
The gloom of a prison's a cold cheerless night.
Roll on, noble river, in grandeur and pride,
Waft the stores of my country on every tide;
Bring thy full share of wealth from the wide-spreading sea;
Though comfort and hope must be strangers to me.
Oh horror! my misery never can cease,
Nor my bosom again know the solace of peace;
By the scorpions of justice, now scourg'd from mankind,
I leave neither friendship nor pity behind.
With the goadings of guilt, in the depth of despair,
What words can the height of my anguish declare!
The just laws of my country have fix'd my sad doom,
To be buried alive—a dark dungeon my tomb!
What is life without liberty? oft have I said;
She sweetens pale poverty's pittance of bread;
But these chains, and a prison, extort a deep sigh,
My heart sinks within me; I languish to die!
Farewell, all my friends, now unwilling to own,
That such a vile outcast you ever have known;
Oh! that pang—but 'twas due to my children and wife:—
Oh! pity and pardon a prisoner for life.

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